

a study of

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Red
China
in
Africa

with an introduction by
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Red China in Africa

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The introduction to this study was written by Professor Thomas Molnar, Chairman of the Publications Committee of the American-African Affairs Association. Professor Molnar is an author and lecturer who has traveled widely throughout Africa. Among his books are: *Two Faces of American Foreign Policy* and *Africa, a Political Travelogue*.

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INTRODUCTION

BY THOMAS MOLNAR

The Kremlin "discovered" Africa only in the second half of the 1950's as a promising market for ideological export. To be sure, there had been earlier attempts to implant communism in Africa: parties had been organized in South Africa and Egypt; the French communists set up satellites in francophone territories; and Ghana had George Padmore, mentor of Kwame Nkrumah. But no major coordinated efforts were launched until after the Bandoeng Conference of African and Asian people (1955). Only in 1958, for example, did Moscow start its radio propaganda program for Africa on a large scale, broadcasting not only in English and French, but also in Swahili, Amharic, and other native languages. A few months later Peking began a similar propaganda program of its own.

For some years after Bandoeng, communist strategy, still largely directed from the Kremlin, consisted in the implementation of a long-range plan, broached already by Bukharin and elaborated under Molotov: 1) the formation of communist cadres to help the nationalist "bourgeois" movements drive out the foreign powers; 2) the launching of a class-war after achieving independence in order to seize power for the communist party.

Thus starting with 1957 the outlines of a more active African policy became visible. The first Soviet Africanist, Professor Potekhin, visited the continent in that year and told an audience in Accra that African societies did not need pass "through the capitalist experience", they could enter directly the "socialist phase". There is no place for concepts like "African socialism", he said; Marxism-Leninism is adaptable to all historical situations.

The Kremlin's ideologues expected that a local proletariat would emerge, rise up in due time against the local bourgeoisie, and seize power in the name of Marxism. However, this could not happen for two main reasons: first, Africa, hardly industrialized and in most new countries not at all, had no urban proletariat to speak of, and only rudiments of a black middle class: merchants, planters, a few professionals like teachers. As for the whites, they did not form a class but a group of colonial administrators and business representatives who were to leave their jobs anyway with the coming of independence. In the second place, the black "middle class" that has emerged in the last decade or less is not a bourgeoisie in the Marxist sense: it does not own the means of production, but is getting relatively prosperous in government jobs, party posts, etc. More important: even though its members may use the Marxist jargon in official statements and private conversations, the new black elite is, if anything, nationalistic; it is also rather worried about clumsy Soviet methods of financing move-

ments to overthrow it, for example in Guinea and Congo-Leopoldville. Reacting against such methods, Guinea's president Sekou Touré, echoed by Mali's Modibo Keita, stated at the time: "Communism is no solution for Africa; the class struggle is impossible here because there are no classes only social strata [*des couches sociales*]. The foundation of our society is the family and the village community."

Thus a new approach became imperative: a more direct reliance on outside subversion and a better disguised penetration. Accordingly, since about 1962 numerous agreements have been signed between Moscow, Peking, Prague, Pankow and various African capitals for aid, contact and cooperation in the fields of economics, trade, cultural exchange, communications and technical advice. These agreements have opened the doors of independent Africa to communist intervention; most advisors and technicians, even the personnel of embassies and permanent missions have, in reality, political (meaning subversive) assignments which they carry out under the guise of some expertise.

In these, lately developed and used, techniques of subversion the Red Chinese proved to be extremely efficient; they have also learned from Moscow's mistakes. They have showed themselves knowledgeable of African mentality, and have been quick to exploit the many-sided conflicts in which the continent unfortunately abounds. Using the doctrinal or Machiavellian aspects of communism, Peking lends its support to whoever is ready to accept it: it backs Burundi's feudally structured Watutsi against their earlier Bahutu serfs; it exploited the leadership crisis in Brazzaville and acquired thus, in the heart of Africa, an operational center; it has secured the loyalty of high officials like Odinga Oginga of Kenya, Oscar Kambona of Tanganyika, Mohammed Babu in Zanzibar, etc., men waiting in the shadow of the present rulers. The Red Chinese are even using religion (Islam) to further their cause: they brought out a Swahili translation of the Koran with no change in the sacred text, but with footnotes suggesting that new prophets may arise in the East!

It was also Peking which hit upon the idea (in the crucial period of 1959-60 when decolonization was stepped up by France, Great Britain and Belgium) of setting up a series of organizations permitting Chinese communists to establish close and lasting contact with important sectors of Africans: youth groups, women's groups, students and journalists who would welcome exchange and travel opportunities, Sino-African solidarity associations, and so on. They profited by the impression Mao's striking slogans apparently made on inexperienced Africans, particularly the younger ones: "the Great Leap Forward", the "Steel-mills of the countryside", and "People's Communes." The Africans who had begun to consider Soviet Russia a fully industrialized land, could be persuaded to look upon Red China as a fellow-underdeveloped country with problems, and therefore solutions, similar to their own. In order to spread this impression, Peking's trade and cultural missions have been criss-crossing the continent, they set up everywhere bases of operation, exploit discontent, suggest

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means of eliminating the traces of "Western imperialism" and "neo-colonialism". On a terrain so skillfully cultivated, the seeds of distrust, fear and destruction are easily sown. Here is a sample from Radio Peking's broadcast in December 1961: "The danger of a new world war persists and we must be vigilant. . . . The Kennedy Administration, although it pretends to want peace, prepares war on an unprecedented scale. It is preparing total nuclear war as well as smaller, limited wars. Only when the capitalist and imperialist systems will be erased can peace be assured."

The continent's Western-oriented countries, and the West itself, confront in Africa an extraordinary skillful enemy. What are the latter's objectives, and what would the success of these objectives mean in terms of Western — and particularly American — interests.

Until recently the Red Chinese cooperated with Moscow in their common efforts to revolutionize Africa. In many instances they still do: for example there are Chinese and Russian military instructors with the armies and airforces of some East African countries. Also, from the point of view of the aggressed country it makes little difference whether the saboteurs and terrorists sent in had been trained in China, the Soviet Union, or one of their respective satellites.

It seems now, however, that the Chinese decided some time ago to capitalize on their being a non-white race, also on their hostility against the Indians, a people intensely disliked by East Africans, particularly by the growing number of Moslems among them. Moreover, while the Kremlin has repeatedly tried to squeeze African reality on the Procrustes-bed of abstract Marxist theory, Peking has made careful studies of each African country and assessed its phase of development in reference to what seem like corresponding phases of evolution in recent Chinese history. Confidential military documents, dated April 25, 1961, show the way Peking evaluates the "revolutionary maturity" of African countries. "In Africa there are many rightist elements in power, but only few leftist ones. We must explain to them the Chinese revolution by mentioning the Boxer Revolt, the overthrow of the Empire, Sun-Yat-sen's Republic, etc. until we reach the present communist revolution." The document states that "no African territory has entered yet the phase of the Northern Campaign" (Chiang Kai-shek's offensive of 1926) or "the phase of anti-Japanese resistance" (a united front of Nationalists and communists in 1936).

Although the last phase, the communist take-over of 1949, is still far away for Africans (in Peking's estimation), the Red Chinese seem to feel that they have hit upon the correct method of doing the job singlehanded — for their own benefit. This is not a sudden whim on their part, but a strategy based on a careful analysis of the situation, not only in Africa but in the world. The initial decision was very probably motivated by the consequences of the Sino-Soviet rift. Peking has found that most Communist parties of industrialized nations, whether they are in power or not, support the Soviet position against the more reckless Chinese one, perhaps because China cannot provide a model

of industrialization to more advanced societies. With a new twist performed on Marx's teachings, not unprecedented in the history of communism, Peking's leaders have turned towards the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, trusting to find there revolutionary masses and parties in search of a coordinating world leadership.

In the eyes of Mao and his colleagues, the chances for revolutions and a new revolutionary International under Peking's guidance "are now concentrated in the colonial, ex-colonial, or semi-colonial countries". (Richard Lowenthal). It is obvious, writes also Arthur A. Cohen, that "this strategy is not confined to the Far East, but it is extended to all emergent nations." Let us stress as a very important aspect of Peking's new strategy that it is aimed at non-communist (nationalist, revolutionary, one-party, etc.) regimes as much as at communist ones. It is the *revolutionary potential* that Peking is interested in, regardless, at least for the time being, of the precise form of the ideology.

In Africa the principal target of penetration is Southern Africa with its immense resources in copper, gold, diamond, uranium, and in lesser known metals which are essential for the production of modern weapons. To take only one example, Zambian copper, it is mined in such quantities that it sets the world price, and could, by lowering this price, practically wipe out its closest competitor, Chilean copper. Let us also remember that the American atom bomb in the second World War was built with uranium mined in Katanga.

Peking must have realized the difficulty of attacking this area on its "wings", that is through Angola and Mozambique, where the Portuguese have successfully defeated ambitious rebellions. The strategy is now to drive a wedge down through the middle: the Congo, Katanga, Zambia, and reach the heart of mineral-rich Africa as well as South Africa's modern, dynamic industrial complex. As reported by a defected Red Chinese diplomat, Mao Tse-tung has said: "If we can put our hands on the Congo, the rest of Africa is ours." In geo-political and economic terms he was right.

The Chinese have no means of financing vast projects and extending aid on the required scale. They are anyway of the opinion that such aid, insofar as it results in a rising standard of living, only creates a satisfied, nationalistic bourgeoisie. Their own experience with the nationalists of Chiang-Kai-shek from the early 1920's to the late 1940's who kept thwarting their designs makes them distrust such a class. Peking then prefers to play on the theme of Western "neo-colonialism", on racial antagonism, and also on the growing conviction in radical African circles that the Kremlin has betrayed the revolutionary cause and the Third World by backing down in Cuba and by signing the test-ban treaty. Countering Moscow's efforts, Peking can explain to the African fanatics that the secret of victory lies in learning guerrilla warfare techniques from Mao's writings and in training in methods of sabotage, infiltration, and terrorism. The Chinese can also use bribes and thus subvert the entourage of men like Kenyatta or Kaunda.

The objective of all these activities is to sow unrest, keep the continent unsettled, thwart the Africans' efforts to stabilize their new countries. We saw that even according to Peking's careful calculations, whatever they are worth, ultimate communist take-over is still quite distant. But by creating revolutionary situations, Peking hopes to compel the withdrawal of Western investments which, if they departed, would leave in their place misery, broken aspirations, and fanaticised masses ready to do battle for communism. At the same time the West, for example the Common Market countries which now attract the more stable African countries, like Ivory Coast and Nigeria, in their sphere of prosperity, would be cut off from their major supplies of raw material. It is easy to imagine what would follow: closing down of factories, large-scale unemployment, growing membership of far-leftist parties. The situation would not be without sinister consequences for the United States as well.

But there would be further effects too, mainly for the United States. If China were to achieve its goals in East Africa, it would become the dominant power in the entire Indian Ocean area. The Red Chinese trust that Vietnam will soon fall into their hands, and with it the whole of the Indochinese peninsula. Indonesia's recent pro-Peking stance, the break between Malaysia and Singapore, the just demonstrated vulnerability of India are signs that Peking is moving down in force to the waters of the Indian Ocean. In addition to administering a tremendous blow to Western shipping and economic-strategic interests, Peking hopes also to improve decisively its position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. The latter is still a quasi-landlocked empire, in need, since Peter the Great, of warm-sea ports and outlets. Following the above-indicated course, China would become, on the other hand, a major maritime power. Through Ceylon, the Comores, the Seychelles, the Mauritius and Reunion islands — all with their strong communist movements — and particularly through "Africa's Cuba", Zanzibar, Peking now builds steps in the direction of the African continent. The orientation is clearly towards securing for itself the entire coastline of the Indian Ocean.

If we now look at Africa's north-eastern tip (the Suez Canal) and its southern tip (South Africa), we realize that in case of war — and Peking seriously envisages a "final showdown" between communism and the free world by the time it possesses an adequate nuclear potential — the first would be closed for Western shipping, commercial as well as military, and only the second, together with Portuguese Mozambique, would remain in friendly hands, giving support to Western naval and air forces. (Hence the efforts of Communists and fellow-travelers all over the world to create trouble for South Africa, an indispensable ally of the West in any future conflict.)

The post-war breakup of the British Empire created several power vacuums in the world. The first to become dramatically evident, as a result of Russia's territorial and ideological gains in Eastern Europe, was the Mediterranean area (Greece, Turkey, the Near East) where the US had to move in with the Sixth

Fleet and the Truman Doctrine. A perhaps even more critical power vacuum is now developing in the South Asian waters, reaching, on the one side, as far as Australia, on the other side to the East African coast from Somalia to Dar-es-Salaam. The immediate cause of this crisis is the disintegration of the British Commonwealth which leaves unstable or insufficiently protected governments with often hesitant orientation in a crucial world area. Australia, already hard pressed by Sukarno and behind him Peking, can hardly count on London's help if and when trouble develops on its common border with Indonesia in New Guinea; Malaysia and India are also under direct threat, the latter being considered by Peking as Asia's "soft underbelly", a country to disintegrate soon with or without external aggression; last April's attempt to assassinate the Shah of Iran (a key figure in the Middle Eastern equilibrium) was also instigated by Chinese agents meeting their Iranian counterparts in London.

Whether we like it or not, the United States will have to take over more and more of the commitments that the departing British power can no longer fulfill in the enormous expanses of the Indian Ocean. Consequently, the Seventh Fleet must have freedom of maneuver which means ports, docks, supply system, repair crews, factories, lines of land communication. Only in this manner can we hope at least to contain Red Chinese ambitions, short of war; this job must be accomplished not only in Vietnam and elsewhere in Asia, but also in East- and Southern Africa. For our survival it is essential that we understand that in Africa today Peking has launched the gigantic project of subverting and undermining the areas of our economic interests and our bases in a possible confrontation.

The study printed on the following pages has all the qualities of a very thoroughly documented, dispassionate report on Red Chinese infiltration in Africa. It brings together in one manageable examination of the subject the ways, means, and aims of Peking's wily moves on the continent. The reader will easily follow the Red Chinese policy lines which the study presents in their more permanent features, while abundantly illustrating them; at least this very important aspect of Africa's shifting scene will become clearer to him. Several maps will also help clarify the routes of communist penetration.

The reader will note that the study does not end on an altogether pessimistic note. Many Africans are now alive to the deadly threat of a new colonization by the communist powers; they know that communist colonialism aims not only at material exploitation but also at the rape of souls and minds. One can talk today with many lucid Africans, labor leaders, students, journalists, who have seen how communism works in China, Cuba, the Soviet Union or Hungary, either as participants in exchange programs or at labor congresses behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. Their indignation and disgust with what they saw are among the best guarantees that Africa will actively fight for the preservation of its newborn freedom.



Red China in Africa: 1

DURING recent months, objections have been raised in a number of African countries against the present extent of Chinese Communist infiltration and subversion within the African continent. China's present disregard of African wishes in this respect is clear enough from an editorial in the *People's Daily* for June 24th, 1964. The article described the revolt in the Kwilu Province of the Congo as enjoying Peking's support. It went on to add that, "The present state of affairs is exactly right for the revolutionary struggle of the Congolese people". Communist China continues its campaign to draw Africa into its sphere of influence despite the strongly expressed wishes to the contrary of President Ben Bella of Algeria. He said, not so long ago, that he did not wish his own country to become "at any price a field for clashes or a reward in a fight which strikes us, from time to time, as aggravating, to say the very least" Ben Bella is not alone. Most of Africa's developing countries have stated that they do not wish to become involved in the Cold War or the Sino-Soviet quarrel. Despite this expressed desire, the Chinese Communists never hesitate to make use of diplomatic missions, propaganda and cultural exchanges, aid and military training programmes as a means of African infiltration.

Chinese Communist Ambition

With this end in view, Communist China tried, in the first instance, to make use of the idea of Afro-Asian solidarity and supposed racial affinity. As the Sino-Soviet quarrel developed a new objective appeared. The number one target for the Red Chinese is not now that of excluding the influence of the free world from Africa. China's present concern is that she herself and not the Soviet Union should direct and inspire the advance of Communism across Africa. In effect, Chinese Communism teaches that colonial countries need violent revolution as an instrument of liberation. The Soviet

Union is accused of neo-colonialism on the grounds that it gives aid on a temporary basis' to "bourgeois" movements of national liberation. Whatever the truth of this, it is clear that, in what concerns Africa, there exists a great identity of interest as well as strong competition between Moscow and Peking. At the same time—and as a strategic measure—Chou-en-Lai favours a strict delimitation of competing interests in order that the communist cause in Africa may be promoted as rapidly as possible. At present, Communist China is concerned mainly with the countries of East and Central Africa. Apart from anything else, China has in the former area what might be described as a second theatre of operations against India. It is the Indians who hold major economic power on the East African coast. For this very reason it is easy to stir up the Africans against them and to cast oneself in the role of liberator of the African people from the Indian "capitalist yoke". Moreover, the control of the ports on Africa's eastern seaboard would provide Communist China with a major strategic advantage. As a provisional policy, then, Peking is concentrating on East and Central Africa, whilst Moscow takes the West and North. At the same time, and despite the division, Communist China is actively preparing bridgeheads for the second stage of her African adventure at Bamako in Mali and Algiers. China's revolutionary probings everywhere have, in fact, been stepped up ever since Chou-en-Lai's visit to that Continent in January, 1964. He then said that "the prospects of revolution were excellent all over Africa". Red China seems determined now to exploit these prospects wherever they are to be found.

One would have to be very naive to believe that Chou's revolutionary prospects appeared spontaneously, so to say, on the African scene. The Communists, after all, are past masters of the art of creating situations favourable to revolution; experts in the business of exploiting difficult situations and stirring them up to the point where explosion is inevitable. Here their guide is the strategy laid down by Lenin in a famous passage of *The Infantile Malady of Communism*: "It is necessary to carry on agitation and systematic propaganda, perseveringly and persistently. One must know how to make use of every kind of stratagem, trick and clandestine action, one must know how to remain silent, conceal the truth and agree to all the indispensable

¹It is worth pointing out at this stage that the concept of peaceful co-existence, as understood nowadays and practised by the Soviet Union, in no way implies any abandonment of traditional communist objectives. The immediate objective of this policy is the establishment of neutralism: this frame of mind will then be worked on and emasculated with a view to the ultimate domination of the world by communism. The Kremlin chiefs are quite explicit with regard to this objective.

compromise, harrying and subterfuge, in order to hasten the inevitable frictions, disputes and conflicts". Guided by the Leninist policy of subversion, the Communists for some years now have been exploiting selected difficult situations in Africa. They have done everything in their power to bring them to the point of explosion. In this and a subsequent article, the story is confined to the subversive activities of the Chinese.

A Beginning is Made

The penetration of Africa by Russian Communism only began in 1955. Chinese efforts are still more recent. At the end of 1959, they decided to set up a whole crop of organisations which would enable them, at one and the same time, to study African problems from a communist angle and forge close links between the newly independent countries of Africa and Peking. Initial contacts between Chinese Communists and African leaders had been established from the time of the Bandung Conference onwards: this took place in April, 1955. During the following four years, the Chinese were increasingly active on the African continent. Fifty Chinese delegations, whose membership totalled four hundred, visited friendly African States; at the same time, these sent to Red China one hundred and fifty delegations comprising in all seven hundred people, who either belonged to the government of their countries or were experts on matters that concerned youth, economics, trade, agriculture and science. In the same period, branches of the New China Agency were being set up, if they did not already exist, in various capital cities of Africa: the personnel of the Agency were engaged for the most part in activities which it would be accurate to describe as alien to usual journalistic practice.

During the whole of this initial period from 1955-1959, Peking had neither high-level organisers nor experts in subversion to assist with the work of penetrating Africa. Lacking any real knowledge of Africa's problems, Chinese Communism had to restrict its method of operation to the lines laid down by the Movement for Afro-Asian Solidarity of which it was a member. During these years, therefore, Chinese propaganda which found its way into Africa did not have a specifically African slant.

The Second Stage

In 1959, the Chinese Communists became very conscious of the extraordinary and rapid changes that were taking place in Africa. They felt the need to co-ordinate their work in that continent. Consequently, at the end of 1959 and the beginning of 1960, there took place at Peking a series of meetings which brought together most of the

important Chinese Communists who, in one way or another, were concerned with Africa. A department was also created in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to supervise Chinese activities in Africa. Next, came a spate of specific organisations.

In April, 1960 there was announced the establishment of The Friendship Association of the Peoples of China and Africa. This was followed, a month later, by the Committee for the support of the Afro-Asian Freedom Movement, whose purpose was to give political and, even, military aid. In October, 1960, the African department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, already referred to, was transformed into a Directorate of African Affairs. At the same time, there was set up a Commission for Cultural Relations with Africa. In January, 1961 came the Committee for the study of African Affairs, then an African Institute, like that of Moscow, for the study of African problems from an historical, ethnic and linguistic, point of view. Also, at the beginning of 1961, there was established a Chinese People's Committee for the Aid of African Countries against Aggression. Finally, on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the Bandung Conference, there was established at Peking, in April, 1962, an Afro-Asian Society of China. The object of the Society was made known in the inaugural addresses of Chen-Yu, the Deputy Prime Minister, and Kuo-Mo-Jo, President of the Academy of Sciences. It was to promote and organise in the Chinese People's Republic, study and research concerning the political and economic problems, history, philosophy, languages, literature, arts, religion and social conditions of the countries of Africa and Asia. Its aim was to increase cultural exchanges. In actual fact, the foundation of this Society meant the setting up of a vast political apparatus intended to co-ordinate the numerous facets of Chinese infiltration into Africa. The Afro-Asian Society of China now controls the embassies, consulates, agencies and the many economic and cultural missions of communist China in Africa. It supervises also and directs the education of African students studying in the Chinese People's Republic.

Propaganda

Radio is an obvious means chosen by Communism for the spread of propaganda throughout the African continent. Transmissions from Radio Moscow to black Africa were first begun in April, 1958. Those from Radio Peking began a few months later. Since then, broadcasts have continually increased. In October, 1964, Chinese broadcasts to Africa totalled ninety-eight hours a week¹. Broadcasts are in

¹In July, 1964, broadcasts abroad from various Communist countries amounted to 4,375 hours a week, of which 350 were aimed at black Africa.

French, English, Arabic, Portuguese, Italian, Swahili, Amharic and Cantonese (for Chinese residents of East Africa and Madagascar). Recently, Radio Peking announced in Swahili that three daily broadcasts on new frequencies would be relayed to Africa. The principal object of all this radio activity is to support the subversive activities of Red China, now being intensified throughout the African countries. A special characteristic of these Chinese broadcasts is their violent tone. They consist mainly of repeated attacks against "colonialists" and "imperialists", particularly Americans.

Another form of propaganda consists in the diffusion throughout Africa of hundreds of thousands of brochures, books, articles and other types of publication made up of communist propaganda. In many African cities and towns libraries and reading centres have been established where Africans can obtain at ridiculously low prices periodicals, newspapers and records edited from Peking: very often, of course, these publications are distributed free. In countries where they are banned they are posted directly to private addresses. It is, however, the correspondents in Africa of the New China Agency who have the special task of spreading throughout Africa propaganda in favour of Communist China and retailing back to Peking local African news, which is then given major publicity over the NCA network. This technique is designed very specially to influence public opinion in the neutralist countries.

Finally — and still at the propaganda level — Communist China organises travelling exhibitions in the African countries with which it has diplomatic relations. Photographs, drawings, statistics, models, etc. are displayed before African audiences, which are completely unaware as a rule of the appalling conditions in Communist China and, in particular, of the recent failure of its planned agricultural effort and the famine that came in its train.

"Diplomats" at Large

None of the propaganda activities we have been discussing would have any real value without their connection with the various embassies, news agencies, diplomatic and consular offices, economic and cultural missions already set up by Communist China in Africa. These form bases from which the agents of Communist China spread their subversive activity throughout Africa. This is a relatively late development. In March, 1958 the Peking Government had established diplomatic relations with only one African country, the United Arab Republic. Today, it has representatives accredited to sixteen African governments. Chinese diplomats, assisted by correspondents of the New China Agency, have become more and more involved in under-

ground activities against the African governments who are their hosts. Suspicions concerning the origin of the mutinies in East Africa at the beginning of 1964 led the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania to limit to ten the personnel of diplomatic missions and that of news agencies to one. This restriction operated for the first time against six Chinese who landed at Nairobi airport in January, 1964 to join the Chinese Embassy, which already had a staff of twelve. In the *Nigerian Daily Telegraph* of September 28th, 1964, Mr. Kavani recalled that communist China supported five centres of subversion in Africa at Algiers, Bamako, Brazzaville, Bujumbura and Dar-es-Salaam. Lack of "diplomat-agitators" able to speak the local language and "a close watch on embassies by the governments concerned" impeded subversive activities sponsored by the embassies of Communist China at Tunis, Rabat, Kampala, Nairobi and Khartoum. "But", Mr. Kavani continued "this is only the calm before the storm". By the end of last year Peking hoped to set up embassies in Senegal, Nigeria, Dahomey, Zambia and the Central African Republic.

Base at Burundi

It is not surprising that, since Dar-es-Salaam has become the centre for many African liberation movements, the Chinese should have appointed a high-ranking ambassador to Tanzania. Ho Ying, who is there now, is considered to be an African expert. He was in on the creation of the Department of African Affairs in Peking. Wang Yu-tien, who replaced Ho Ying in the Department, is now Chinese Ambassador to Kenya. Burundi used to provide another good base for the Chinese Communists². In January, 1964 a diplomatic mission was established and the first chargé d'affaires was Yiang Chen. Three years before, when in Indonesia, this diplomat had been kept under close observation by the authorities because of attempts he made to obstruct the government deportation of Chinese residents. Tung Chi-ping, a cultural attaché to the mission, who later defected to the West, has stated that the Chinese were only interested in Burundi as a stepping stone to the Congo. Kao Liang, the representative of the New China Agency at Dar-es-Salaam, often visits Burundi. Some years ago, the Indian authorities asked for his removal from India because of his tendentious, biased and groundless reports and observations. Visits of Kao Liang to Burundi were apparently to collect reportage for the New China Agency. In fact, he used them to maintain contact with (Watutsi) refugees from Rwanda, who have received material help from the Chinese. At first sight, it seems contrary to Marxist principles that Chinese Communists in Burundi should give

backing to refugees from Rwanda whose aim is the restoration in that tiny country of its previous feudal system, whereby the Watutsi ruled over a serf tribe, the Hutu, who are now in charge of Rwanda. Anyone, however, who is acquainted with "the Communist art of strategy and tactic", as taught by Lenin, knows very well that, in such a case as this, there is only an apparent contradiction. Until their recent expulsion from Burundi, Chinese Communists granted *provisional* aid to the refugees from Rwanda in order to widen the gap prevailing between the peoples of that country. In this, they have shown themselves faithful followers of Lenin. In *The Infantile Malady of Communism* he wrote: "To forbid all exploitation of antagonistic interests (even if these should be passing) which divide our enemies and all agreement and compromise with temporary allies, isn't this absolutely ridiculous? For the art of tactics is to conceal up to the last minute the strategic goal".

Setback in Malawi

Not long ago, an effort made by Communist China to spread its influence in Africa met with a setback. Doctor Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, stated on September 8th, 1964, that Communist China had offered him £18,000,000 in return for the recognition by his Government of Peking. According to Doctor Banda, the offer came from the Chinese Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam. Commenting next day on the Doctor's statement, an editorial in the *East African Standard* said, "A third of the forty-eight Chinese Embassies are to be found in Africa. Among all these embassies the most important is that in Dar-es-Salaam. For Africa's own good, Africans must bear in mind the warnings sounded by recent events on the West and East coasts, in the Congo, in Burundi, in Southern Rhodesia and now in Malawi". Soon after Doctor Banda made public the Chinese offer and the ministerial intrigue against him with which it was connected, Mr. Shikulu, General Secretary of what was then KADU in Kenya, called for the closure of the Chinese Embassy in Nairobi and the expulsion of its staff. He criticised the Embassy for making public a statement attacking Mr. Tshombe's Government in the Congo: he maintained that the statement was a fraud when one took into account Red China's support of the Congolese revolt. Mr. Shikulu warned his countrymen: "If the Chinese can infiltrate the Congo, they can also infiltrate here". He added that he had it in mind to draw Mr. ²The Chinese diplomatic mission was expelled from Burundi following the assassination on January 16th, 1965, of the anti-Communist Prime Minister, Pierre Ngendandumwe. The Chinese were considered responsible for this brutal murder.

Kenyatta's attention to the threat presented by the Chinese to the peaceful development of Kenya.

Guerilla Training

Support given by Communist China to revolutionary movements in Africa is by no means limited to propaganda. Red China offers to "nationalists" engaged in civil war or preparing for it instruction based on her own long experience of guerilla warfare. Brochures are provided for men on the spot and there are, in addition, training courses in China. In 1960, it was found that six citizens of the Cameroons, when arrested, had well-filled notebooks and brochures based on a ten-week training course which they had followed in a military academy near Peking. Classes dealt with the manufacture of explosives, mines and grenades, their use for sabotage, the handling of more complicated military weapons, and methods of political instruction. In 1960, the delegate from the Cameroons to the United Nations stated: "Information obtained by the Government of the Republic shows that many young men from the Cameroons, attracted to China under false pretences, receive psychological and military training for the sole object of being sent back to our national territory to engage in subversive activities and become instructors with a view to a future general revolution". China is active also in Portuguese Africa. It was announced in August, 1963, that an unspecified number of those belonging to the African Party for the Independence of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) had been following in China six-month courses in guerilla warfare. Radio Leopoldville confirmed, on October 20th, 1964, that guerilla training camps had been established in the Congo at Kamu, near Leopoldville, Impfondo and Bouanga. The last named is an establishment where "indoctrination and military training are given to rebels in groups of 100 and 150". The broadcast added that the revolutionary situation in the whole of the Congo was under the control of an expert in guerilla warfare and subversion based on the Chinese Embassy at Brazzaville. The London *African Review*, in its issue for November, 1964, revealed the expert as Colonel Kan Mai. Here at Brazzaville, the Chinese Embassy, which was established in February, 1964, has a staff of at least twenty, complete with military attachés. These latter help with the training of Congolese rebels in special camps at Gambona and Impando in the old French Congo. Assisting them are Congolese African instructors recently returned from Peking. Courses began there in 1961. The Chinese Embassy at Brazzaville is providing in addition training, arms, munitions and money for the rebels within the old Belgian Congo itself.

Red China in Africa: 2

THE *Mauritius Times* wrote on October 23rd, 1964: "Everybody knows that Mao Tse-tung has adopted the way of revolution, aggression and war as his means to the realisation of China's ideals. China has attacked India without reason. Her interference in the affairs of Burma, Vietnam, Malaysia and the newly independent African countries is clear for all to see. Now that China has become a nuclear power, her effrontery and aggressiveness will make themselves felt still more. Her leaders believe the world is rotten, that they alone can save it, and this by bloody wars. With leaders who have this kind of warlike mentality, China, as a nuclear power, constitutes indeed a grave threat to world peace."

Jeune Afrique of Tunis wrote on November 8th, 1964: "Chinese diplomats have established a whole network of bases, agents and 'contact men' along the arc of a circle which stretches from Dar-es-Salaam to Brazzaville; northwards as far as Kenya and Somaliland; Southwards to Zambia, South Africa and Basutoland. The nerve centre of this network is the Chinese Embassy at Dar-es-Salaam. The key personality is Kao Liang, the determined and ubiquitous agent of the New China Agency. It is he who, on behalf of the Ambassador, makes all the necessary soundings and serves as intermediary between diplomats and their African contacts . . . In the Chinese Embassy at Dar-es-Salaam, there are between 30 and 40 Chinese (twice the number of all the other diplomats put together); in Kenya there are at least 20 and in Uganda 12, whilst little Burundi has 20 Chinese in comparison with only 4 Russians."

Mouinda of Brazzaville wrote on October 30th, 1964: "Let us be on our guard. Let us not allow quarrels to be foisted on Africa which she could well do without. We must realise that, in order to secure the triumph of Chinese Communism, the Chinese are determined to support and even create any kind of rebellion which attempts the overthrow of a non-Communist regime."

On October 3rd, 1964, the same paper wrote: "A sad series of events bears witness to the fact that the Brazzaville Congo, in ceasing to be French, has not become independent, but Chinese; and this as a result of revolution. This is why revolutionaries who do not wish the Congo to become the possession of another power are automatically classed as 'counter-revolutionaries'."

These excerpts from a reasonable cross-section of the African press show, as well as anything we know, the evolving mind of emergent Africa with regard to the Chinese penetration of the Continent.

Red China and Revolution

The Nigerian *Daily Telegraph* reminded its readers on October 24th, 1964 that the President of Red China, Liou Sha-chi, told the President of Brazzaville Congo, Alphonse Massemba-Debat, at a banquet in Peking on October 1st that China considered it a "sacred international duty" to support revolutionary struggles like that of the Congolese rebels. Recalling the phrase of Mao Tse-tung, "a mere spark can set off a prairie fire", the *Daily Telegraph* stated that already in April, 1961 a secret news sheet (*Progress Report*, of which we shall say something later) had been seized. It was intended for high-ranking Chinese officials and expressed the view of Peking "that a rebellion in one or two African countries could become contagious". In fact, Chinese efforts to help the Congolese rebels extend their revolt to other African countries have been fully confirmed by the former cultural attaché to the Chinese Embassy at Burundi, Tung Chi-ping, who—as has already been said in a previous article—defected and obtained political asylum in the United States. Speaking of the part played by the Chinese in the Congo revolt, Tung Chi-ping cites Mao Tse-tung as saying, "If we succeed in seizing the Congo, we shall hold the whole of Africa".

This declaration of the Chinese Leader, made at the beginning of 1964, reveals the true nature of Chinese activity in Africa. Its aim is to support revolutionary movements wherever they are to be found on that Continent, to upset and embarrass governments too closely aligned with the West and, finally, to exacerbate local difficulties wherever they exist. These three objectives might be described accurately as constituting the present aim of Chinese Communist activity in Africa*.

* Generally speaking, the classical strategy of Communism with regard to independent African countries that still enjoy a fair measure of freedom is to do everything possible to hold up their healthy development, to create in their midst a vacuum out of which chaos can be drawn and, from this, to forge discontent. Meanwhile, a very carefully directed line of propaganda is put out to the effect that the discontented have to thank for their plight only their governments and the imperialist governments whose "lackeys" they are. Out of this situation only a Communist regime can draw the salvation of the discontented and a promise of peace and prosperity.

Three years ago, the objectives to which we have just made reference were published in the *Progress Report*, for April 25th, 1961 of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Army of Liberation. This was cited in the *China News Analysis* (Hong Kong) for January 24th, 1964. According to this document, the actual stages of development in the different regions of Africa would correspond to what China went through during the time that elapsed between the Boxer Rising (a movement full of xenophobia and anti-Christian feeling) and the fall of the Manchu Dynasty (1911) and students' revolt (May 4th, 1919). The *Progress Report* goes on to add, "no region of Africa has yet reached the stage of the Northern Campaign (the nationalist movement in China led by Chang Kai-shek from 1926 onwards) nor the stage of resistance to the Japanese (the United Front formed by Communists and Nationalists in China after 1936) and these areas are all far from having reached the stage of complete Communist control (as was the case in China in 1949)". Finally, this document goes on to say, "In Africa, one finds many right-wing, but few left-wing elements in power. The Chinese Revolution can only be explained if one begins with Taiping, goes on to the Boxers and Sun Yat-sen and finishes with the present Communist Revolution. The Africans must act for themselves and foreign aid take only second place . . . If, however, one or more of the independent countries of Africa were to stage a truly nationalist revolution, its influence would be sufficiently strong (for our purposes) and a revolutionary wave would submerge the African continent".

Zanzibar and the Congo

Three years after the original publication of this confidential document on April 25th, 1961, a nationalist revolution overthrew the Sultan of newly independent Zanzibar, and the Chinese were able to note with satisfaction that one of their agents, Mohammed Babu, played a part of key importance in that coup. In the eastern provinces of the (old Belgian) Congo, guerillas led by Congolese trained by the Chinese in Peking, such as Pierre Mulele and Gaston Soumialot, have led (and are leading) a revolt in which the most is made of ethnic and tribal rivalries with a view to the destruction of the Central Government of the Congo whose power is based on Leopoldville. In the Brazzaville Congo, Somaliland, Burundi (until very recently) and other countries Chinese diplomats have been playing the role of "technical advisers" to rebels and troublemakers wherever they are to be found. It would, of course, be foolishness to believe that the Chinese presence in Africa is the only cause of any particular insurrection or violent

demonstration on that Continent. At the same time, it would be the greatest possible mistake to underestimate the significance of the Chinese-type revolution, which Peking's leaders hope to see spreading throughout Africa and, more particularly, in the countries of its East and Centre.

The Congo Pattern

In this context, a report made by Max Clos and published in *Figaro* for December 10th, 11th and 12th, 1964 makes interesting and grim reading:

"Throughout those areas of the Congo affected by the rebellion it has been observed that the tactics of the rebels, their methods and the orders they give to their followers are the same. With regard to this aspect of the revolt there can be no doubt whatsoever; its Chinese Communist origins are everywhere apparent . . . One sometimes comes across, word for word, whole sentences taken from manuals supplied to soldiers of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam . . ." "However", continues Clos, "unlike the Russians and Lumumba in 1960, the Chinese, in their dealings with the present Congo revolt, are not yet concerned with the ideological aspect of the rebellion, but only with the material side of its organisation". According to Clos (writing last December), the supplying of Chinese arms to the Congolese rebels cannot yet be considered of any great importance, but, he adds, evidence seems to show that the Chinese are working in specialised fashion in two particular fields:

"Rather surprisingly, the first concerns the major role played by fetishism in the present Congolese rebellion. Fetishism is an African speciality. Up till now, however, it has been practised secretly. Very few Europeans knew about it. It was a hidden, almost a shameful thing. Now it has come to light suddenly as part of the system of government in rebel territory. Experts put this down to Chinese Communist influence. The reason is simple. At this stage of affairs, there can be no question of 'educating' the Congolese people, in the Marxist sense of the word, but only of 'liberating' them from the grip of the Europeans. This is why priests and religious have suffered most during the course of the revolt. So far as the Chinese Communists are concerned, the most important thing at this stage is to cut all the links between Africa and the West. One good means of doing this is to encourage the practise of fetishism and secure its acceptance as part of the African way of life. It would appear that success has been achieved in this respect: people in the West have been horrified by reports of brutalities, based on fetishism, which have taken

place in Kwilu Province.

"The second specialised field in which Chinese Communists are intensifying their efforts is that represented by the setting up and empowering of people's tribunals: their task is 'to condemn to death and carry out public executions of those convicted. This represents a new procedure in Africa. One can hardly fail to see the similarity of this procedure to that carried out in China immediately after the Communists took power in that country. There, as in the Congo, the people had to be involved in the revolution, exposed to its full force and cut clean away from the West'".

"It is certain", concludes Clos, "that the rebellion in the Eastern Congo is by no means over and that there are more tragedies to come". So far, he has been proved only too correct.

Africa Could be Next

It took the Communists nearly thirty years to achieve power in China. What has been happening during the past year in Africa proves that the process can be accelerated. Whatever their basic reasons for thinking and acting as they did, there can be no doubt, but that the reaction of many African countries to the rescue operation in the Congo at the end of last year was in accordance with the party line put down by Peking. It seems at times as if the governments of some independent African countries are facades behind which strong men, themselves tools of Peking, are acting with increasing influence. In them, it has not yet been realised that non-alignment, however much desired, cannot operate effectively in face of Communist China's determination to infiltrate Africa irrespective of the means chosen to secure this purpose. Non-alignment can only succeed when East as well as West is determined to keep the rules of the game. This can never be the case because, so far as Communism is concerned, there can be no rules of the game in the normally accepted sense of that phrase.

Blow-up in the Sudan

At one time it looked as if the situation which blew up in the Sudan last autumn would bring serious consequences to the peoples of East Africa. The Sudanese Communist Party, operating clandestinely, succeeded in rallying, exactly at the right time, all the forces opposed to what was becoming an increasingly inefficient and repressive Government. It was mainly, we think, through the efficient organising ability of the Sudanese Communist Party that

the students' demonstration of October 21st in Khartoum was converted into a revolt which successfully toppled the Government of General Abboud: in this, the key operation was undoubtedly the general strike, which paralysed the country's life—particularly that of the railways—and made it impossible for the army to save the regime. There can be no doubt, but that the Communists were behind this strike: at the same time, it must be kept in mind that the Sudanese, particularly those of the South, had many legitimate grievances against the Abboud Government. The thing to notice is the skill of the Communists in working on these grievances and using them to their advantage. The National Government, which followed the revolt, contained one Communist minister and four fellow travellers out of a total of fifteen. The Sudanese Communist Party gained a great deal from the revolution.

No one can be sure how long its gains will last. At first they were considerable and put to good effect. The new Sudanese Government offered hospitality to Congolese rebels driven across the border by the Congolese army, with its stiffening of mercenaries: across the border in the Sudan they were given the opportunity of reforming their broken ranks, retraining and receiving the arms, which came to them from China and the Soviet Union, from Ghana, the United Arab Republic and Algeria. At the same time, arms from these countries were flown to Juba in the South Sudan and carried by road over the border and into the Eastern Congo for the use of rebel forces. Fortunately, however, this situation has not lasted too long. The rebels in the South Sudan—for so long in revolt against Khartoum and savagely repressed by Abboud's army—have brought pressure to bear on the new Government at Khartoum with a view to stopping this traffic. One reason for their doing so is found, no doubt, in the fact that there are many Christians in the rebel ranks of the South Sudan. These have been savagely persecuted on account of their religion. They feel small sympathy for their Congolese counterparts who have so savagely killed priests and nuns and submitted them to every kind of indignity. They have no desire to aid such people. Their representatives have made their wishes known to a Government at Khartoum that has abandoned Abboud's policy of repression and is anxious to effect a reconciliation with the South. Under the circumstances, the views of the South on the subject of aid have had to be taken into account. Here is one main reason why the aid given so readily to the Congolese rebels immediately after the overthrow of General Abboud began to taper off after the turn of the year. An additional and very powerful reason is to be found

in the rapidly growing strength in the Sudan of the conservative Umma Party, made up largely of the followers of the Mahdi and strongly opposed to any extension in their country of Communist power. Already, their leaders have taken steps to cut down the extent of Communist representation in the Sudan's caretaker government, which is meant to take charge of the country's affairs until after the general election. If, as seems likely, this is won by the Umma Party, Sudanese Communists may well find themselves reduced once more to the status of a tiny underground minority. It is for this reason, no doubt, that, at the time of writing, they are trying so desperately hard for a postponement of a general election which, they feel, will deprive them of power. Things, then, are better now in the Sudan than seemed possible in the immediate aftermath of the October revolution. One says this whilst reminding the reader that between now and the publication of this article anything can happen. For the moment, we are content to note a significant check to what seemed at first like a rapid growth of Communist power.

No Ground for Complacency

There is no ground, however, for complacency in the Sudan or anywhere else in newly independent Africa. The revolutionary prospects seen by Chou En-lai and classified by him as "excellent" early in 1964 have, on the whole, improved in most parts of the African continent. The thought is not a pleasant one. All Peking's ideological Marxism can offer Africa is the breaking of men's bodies and the destruction of their souls. The story of China itself—falsified and blurred by a continuous stream of propaganda—gives ample evidence of this. But we need not look even to China. The conduct of Congolese rebels, trained in Peking, leaves us with no reason to believe that a similar situation anywhere else on the African continent would be any different. In the eastern provinces of the Congo, there is reason to believe that the Simbas systematically murdered between 8,000 and 20,000 of their fellow Congolese, who were of any consequence at all. The trick is an old one, carried out with ruthless brutality by Communist revolutionaries as a strategic operation in other countries. The object is to leave a population without local leadership, to strip from it those round whom it might rally in opposition to Communist aggression in order that, cowed and broken, it may be taken over and beaten the more easily into subjection by its future Communist masters. The attack on the Church, the torture, death and indignities heaped on its missionaries in the Congo are part and parcel of the same idea. What Peking wants in every African country

is a people delivered helpless into its hands for conversion into a race of slaves. This is the new imperialism which today threatens Africa as never before.

Those who would like to know more of the methods likely to be employed against Christianity in Africa and the Catholic Church in particular are advised to read the article entitled "At Work against the Church" published in *Christian Order* for January, 1965. This document was first published in Peking in December, 1959. It was intended for use by the Chinese Communists working in Latin America.

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